

Reasonable Reflections,

On a late Pamphlet, Entitled,

# A HISTORY

OF

# Passive Obedience

Since the

## REFORMATION:

WHEREIN

The true Notion of ~~Passive~~ Obedience is Settled and Secured from the Malicious Interpretations of ill-designing Men.

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*Male dum recitas incipit esse tuum, Mart.*

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L O N D O N,

Printed for Robert Clavell, at the Sign of the  
Peacock in St. Pauls-Church-Yard, 16<sup>89</sup><sub>90</sub>.

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## REFLECTIONS

## ON THE

*History of Passive Obedience.*

WHAT must we do, must we be always Reading and Writing? Will Pens and Presses never give over? It was pleasant of late to see Men generously undertake the Defence of the Protestant Religion, and the Vindication of the despised, and almost ruin'd Church of *England*. They did it effectually, and they undertook it by the best Principle, for the honour of God, and the safety of Religion; for this they ventured their Credits, their Fortunes, their Lives; they knew they had malicious Adversaries, and curious and prying into Secrets, and such as would and must discover, who they were who durst speak against Error, when supported by a King, and maintained by all the Art and Sophistry of Priest or Jesuit, Yet they wrote, and certainly did well in writing; for they have carried their cause, and shewed to all the World upon what good grounds the Protestant Religion stands, and how excellent is the Constitution of this Church of *England*. Something must be owned to be due to their Labors for the clear understanding that the Nobility and Gentry of this Nation have of the Cheat and Mischief of Popery, and it may be from thence many who have been unconcerned and indifferent for any Religion, have taken courage to act heartily for Truth against Error, and perhaps thereby they have help'd to give a stop

to the designs of some very ill-minded Men. In all this it must be acknowledg'd that they have done very well, as became Divines and Scholars, Men of Religion and Men of Knowledge.

Why now may they not take their rest and quiet? their Enemies are vanquished and fled away, and one would think that there should be nothing left in this Nation, but their Friends and Admirers. But it is not so, they have Enemies, not open in the streets but sculking in Corners; such as will not, perhaps cannot, or perhaps scorn to speak for Popery; but they have Malice; and can envy the success of a Conqueror, throw dirt at him, or give a secret wound to him. These now come from under their bulks and lurking holes. And since they will do no good, resolve to do evil, and will be at the pains and cost of writing and divulging of Tales or Stories, or Histories: to what purpose, or what end they themselves dare not tell. But we must guess, that they have a design to blacken some very good Men.

That is the reason (as far as we can guess) that a Book is lately sent abroad entitled, *The History of Passive Obedience since the Reformation*. Certainly never was any thing called *History* written to so little purpose, so little instructive or pleasing. Why must so much pains be taken in the perusal of Sermons, popular Discourses and lesser Tracts, to find out, and report to the World what such and so many Men have said upon this Subject? They have writ excellent things, and those many; but all of them it seems are insipid to the palate of this Searcher; save their delicious touches of Passive Obedience. This looks oddly and seems to come from Spleen, Melancholy, or some Hypochondriacal Affection; for at this time of the day, we have no need of Passive Obedience, or any Discourses about it. God has delivered us from our dangers, and the dismal miseries which hung over our heads, he has given us a Deliverer,

verer, an excellent Prince, under whom our Laws, our Rights, our Fortunes, our Lives, our Religion are all secure, and ascertained to us; we doubt not to have Justice, and all that honestly our hearts can wish. He gives us Parliaments, and leaves them to their Freedom; he sets over us upright Judges; and allows us to have honest Juries. He will not be any other sort of King, than what the Constitution of this Nation requires; who is one that can do no wrong. And if he neither will nor can do wrong, but lets the Affairs and Interests of his People be conducted in the methods of Justice and Righteousness: here can be no suffering, but for evil deeds and as evil doers. Here can be no hopes of the Crowns of Martyrs, and no use at all of Passive Obedience. Why then does our Author drudge and moyl; tire himself, and tire us, that we may have before our Eyes, a whole History of Passive Obedience? He knows the subject is sad, and melancholick, grievous to flesh and blood, and but just tolerable to Reason fortified with the best Religion; it is the last resort of the wretched, and perhaps the heaviest burden that ever God laid upon Men. It is a Duty we grant it, but such a one as cannot always be practised, nor ought it at all times to be discoursed of; because it carries fire in its tail, that which may heat and inflame the angry and froward.

The talking of this can never be seasonable, but when it is necessary; it is to come out as *Mahomet's* Banner does, to serve a turn, when all things else fail. As long as we can serve God and Man too, there is no use of Passive Obedience. And as long as there are fair hopes that our duties may not clash one against the other, it is not good to move People to prepare themselves for Sufferings. As long as we can obey, we must obey, and as long as we obey we shall not suffer. But if a Prince will command things unjust, unreasonable, against Law, against Conscience, against Religion, we can no longer obey him, because we must obey God,



and there we are under a calamity most deplorable, that we must suffer by the rage and fury of Man, because we do our duty to God. At such a time as this Passive Obedience becomes necessary, it ought to be practised, and it ought to be preached; for Men must know that it is their duty rather to suffer than to obey, and they must resolve within themselves so to do. Thus *S. Irenæus*, *S. Cyprian* and *S. Augustine*, and all the chief Bishops of the Primitive Church taught their people. And to the lasting honour of the Church of *England*, her Divines have done the same, as our laborious Historian has shewn beyond contradiction or doubt: this was well done, but why are we told all this?

Here we must stop awhile, and lament the misfortunes of the late King *James*. Certainly never had any Prince worse Counsellors before his Desertion, nor ever had any worse Advocates since. His Counsellors persuaded him to go on in ill Designs, because the Preachers taught the People the duty of Passive Obedience; that is, that he might do any ill thing, because the People out of Conscience to God were moved to be willing to suffer. And here we have an Historian, or Advocate, for the Cause of King *James*, who thinks to befriend him by telling the World, that so many of the chief of the Clergy, for so long time together, did preach Passive Obedience. Now it is as clear as the day, that there can be no exercise of this Duty, nor ought there be any popular Exhortation to it, but at such a time, when there is a very ill Prince, and a miserable People; what then would our Author have? does he design to publish an everlasting blot upon the memory of the late King *James*? does he design to tell the World, that he was resolved to do mischief to his People? That nothing could correct or retain him? That he would go on, tho' the Pulpits sounded out Passive Obedience, and his People were taught that there was no hope of Justice or Equity from him, and that they must think of suffering and dying rather than obey him? This

This is severe; it will furnish out a worse Character of King *James* than any of his Adversaries have yet given him; it will justify the Recession of his People from him, and show to Posterity how it came to pass that so easily and suddenly he fell to the ground. For who can read all these so many Pleas, Advices, Instructions, Exhortations to Passive Obedience, but he must reflect upon the Causes and Reasons of them: and if he does so, he will be forced to think, that at that time wicked Counsels governed, and lawless Violence prevailed, and that the whole Nation was clouded with a dismal Appearance of Oppression, Persecution, and Tyranny. For seeing that a Prince ruling by Law, and with Justice, cannot be put off with any thing less than Active Obedience, and nothing can exercise the Passive Obedience of Subjects but vile, and base, and wicked Commands contrary to Law and Religion; we must either blame those Preachers for amusing their Auditors with needless Thoughts of unjust Sufferings, or we must blame the late King for giving too much cause for just and reasonable fears of them. Now what can be said in his behalf to acquit him, no Man has yet told us.

But our Historian has effectually vindicated the Preachers; he every where commends them and their Writings; this he tells us was well said, that excellently, that incomparably. He likes their Doctrine, and finds no fault in the timing of it: and likely enough he had reason to believe the Doctrine as proper to the Time in which it was delivered, as it was true in it self. If so, the late King is again deserted by this Historian, as well as by the rest of his People; and his Cause, like himself, falls to the ground; for why must he do ill things, and why must he load his People with dreads of worse? Why did not all this noise about Passive Obedience awaken him? Why did he not give stop to his Proceedings when his People owned so loudly their fears of Mischiefe? Could he think it a  
small

Small thing to make his People miserable, or to be thought one that would do so? All this was intimated by those Sermons and Tracts. From thence he ought to have taken warning to desist, and his Counsellors ought to have persuaded him to it; for certainly popular Discourses about Passive Obedience are as instructive to a Prince to move him from designs of doing ill, as they are to the People to engage them to be willing to suffer wrong.

From hence I am forced to blame our Historian for perpetuating the Memory of these Discourses: it were for the honor of the late King that they were forgotten. Those excellent Divines would never have revived past Actions, or the grievous sad Thoughts which they had, when they composed or delivered their excellent Arguments and Persuasions for Passive Obedience.

They could wish from their Souls, that they never had occasion for them, tho they are ready to morrow to write the same things upon the same grounds, which with good reason they hope that they are not like to see as long as they live.

Why then does the Historian take pains to collect all these things together? He can do no Service to the late King by it, and he does not seem to design the Honor of the Preachers. It is hard to guess his meaning: but if he tempts out an ill Thought, he must blame himself. He gives us nothing else to think, but that he might be one of the *Adepti*, one of those who knew the Secret; for in the late Times (they tell us) there was a Secret. The Ministers of State, they say, who knew the Resolves of the Court to be harsh and severe, made it their business to persuade Men to preach and talk up Passive Obedience; that what could not be done by the Power of the King, might be gained by the easie Submissions of the People. This was *Machiavel* to purpose. It is sad and lamentable that so excellent a Doctrine should be abused by such designs



signs of naughty Men. If our Author was one of their Instruments, and knew what he did, he can neither excuse himself to God nor Man. I will undertake for our excellent Divines, whom he commends, and I and all others must do the same, that they were never thought so base as to be trusted with the Knowledge of such a pernicious Design. They out of Honesty and Sincerity preached against Rebellion, and persuaded Men rather to suffer, than obey evil Commands; but they would not for all the World that the innocent and conscientious should be cheated of their Lives and Fortunes by any Discourses of theirs. Therefore when it was proper, they preached up this Doctrine, but when it was not, they let it alone; because they would not have the People to rebel, nor would they give Encouragement to such as might be willing to oppress them: in both these things they did their Duty both to the King and to the People. It had been well if others would have done the same, and spoke as plainly to the King, as they did to the People. But it was very ill done, if done at all, to persuade the King that the People of *England* were so subdued by the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, grown so tame and easie that he might do what he would; pull down and set up what Religion, what Law he pleased. It is certain that all the Preachers in the World could never persuade them to this; for tho the People be Loyal, and willing enough that the King should have his Dues, yet they were never thought a Nation of Asses, fit only to bear Burdens. As they are not born Slaves, and by the Constitution of the Nation ought not to be made Slaves, so they have more Spirit and Wit than to suffer themselves to be cheated into Slavery. Their Forefathers, for many Ages, have made a difference between the King and his Counsellors; tho they would suffer the one, yet they would not suffer the other: and certainly the Men of this Age should not be thought so dull

as not to distinguish between Honoring the King, and Obeying Father *Petre*; and that tho' all the Protestant Preachers had talked of nothing else but Passive Obedience. For Preachers can do no more than tell the People their Duties, and they must tell them all their Duties; but if they stretch beyond, and require more than they ought, the People will find it out, and will not part with their Rights for a Word, tho' it sound never so well. But they did their Duty, they preached Passive Obedience not Slavery; they would have Men to be true to their King, but not false to their God, or false to their Country; this was understood, and their Doctrine was received kindly, and practised faithfully.

Thence it came to pass that all Sorts and Orders of Men prepared themselves for Suffering; some of all ranks actually did it: for, Nobles, Judges, Magistrates, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgesses, every where took up the Cross, and chose rather to Suffer than to Obey, that is, do what by Law, and Reason, and Conscience, they ought not to do. This was well.

But others went beyond these: for, tho' they suffered much, yet they seem at this day to be grieved that they did not suffer more: They had so fixed their Thoughts upon the performance of this Duty, that with a Scrupulosity not to be presidented, they take no pleasure in their Deliverance, because they have lost the opportunity of dying for their Religion, to gratifie no very commendable Humor of their Prince.

These are very extraordinary effects of the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, and such as may be accepted: but some Men will be satisfied with nothing; for our Historian is angry, and it is likely the Politicians of the late King, his Jesuits and his Priests, are angry too, inasmuch as their Expectances are not answered; they have not all which they designed, and hoped for; the Nation is not enslaved,

enslaved; they have it not in their power, to cast Church and State into a new Model, and to give Laws to the People of *England*, as well as they did to the late King.

This is cause enough to make Men angry, for they have lost a rich Booty, and such Advantages as they are never like to get again; besides, they have lost their Credit and Reputation, so as never before happened to Men of their fineness in Sophistry and Contrivance, and that by a despised, clot-pated People, such as had no higher reach than to do their Duties to God and to their King. Thus Righteousness (God be blessed) must sometimes triumph in this World; Honesty and Probity have their Successes as well as Slight and Craft, and may they always have so. But tho the Jesuit had cause to be angry at this, yet why should our Historian? we know him not, and cannot guess what Designs he had, nor how his Plots are defeated; but yet he is angry, and as much as if he had lost a good Bishoprick or a good Deanery.

He gives us a History, and sets a Preface before it, and a Conclusion at the End of it: the Head and the Tail are his; he frowns and bites with the one, and then he stings with the other. He tells us that he finds Passive Obedience much in Writings, little in Practice; *That we must acknowledge to our shame, that this, with other Doctrines, are more illustrious in our Books than in our Lives,* (Preface p. 2.) But then in the seventh Page of his Preface he has a long sharp biting Character of certain Persons, which is to be read one way, and to be understood another; for tho it seems to say no ill, but to provide for the Acquittal of all, yet it is so phrased, that according to the modern Figure called *Innuendo* some Readers will find in it a very severe Reproof, and others a mere Calumny. All this comes from Anger, and something worse; and it shews that the design of our Historian was not to teach the Doctrine of the Church in this point, what it was in it self,



how it ought to be stated, by whom it had been owned, and by what Arguments it had been proved, and who had best cleared it from Objections, Mistakes, and Misapprehensions. This had been a Work worthy of an Historian. But this was none of our Author's Business; they are the Writers upon this Subject that have offended him; he would do them a mischief, shoot at them in the dark, and wound them in secret: he would have the World to think, that they and their Writings, their Lives and their Books, do not agree: he desires nothing else but this, and seems resolved to have his Point whether his Reader grant it or no. At the first Onset in his *Preface*, he says it boldly, and says it with Advantage, That they ought to be ashamed it is so. Then he gives us a large Catalogue of the Sayings of excellent Persons transcribed out of their Books, but does not give us one Word of their Lives; nor does he tell us, whether all of them are alike guilty, or only some: nor does he give us any one Action of any one of their Lives to justify his Reproof. This is certainly a gross dull way of calumniating; should another imitate it, with what Indignation would he read, and despise the Author? For suppose another should take for his Theme, Murder, or Adultery, or Drinking, or Swearing, or Lying, and gather together out of his Writings, and out of all his Friends, his Acquaintance or Neighbors Writings, and many others too, all they have said against any one of them, suppose it be Lying only, and compose as large a History as this; and then say in a stout scornful Preface, *That we must acknowledge to our shame, that a sense of the Sin of Lying is more illustrious in our Books than in our Lives.* Such a thing as this might be done; but when it is done, it can tend to no other end, but to beget an Opinion in the Readers, that such and such Writers, all of them, were a pack of lying Knaves.

Now this were basely done, our Author would think it so were it his own case. *Horace* makes an instance of a like Treatment, and with Indignation says of the Practice, that it was meer Canker and Venom :

*Hic nigraë succus Loliginis, hæc est*

*Ærugo mera.*

Ser. Lib. 1. Sat. 4.

Had our Author annexed to his History the due Praises of those who had performed their Duties, of which sort he might have found many amongst the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and amongst the Commons too; and then given us the Grounds upon which he judged that others failed in theirs, he would have deserved Thanks for his Remarks, as well as for his History; for then his Book might have done good, by exciting some to repent for what was past, and others to be more cautious for the future.

But to give a stop to this sort of Discourse, let Anger be gone, and all unwarrantable Passion laid aside: I will now endeavour fairly to consider our Author's Notion of Passive Obedience, and accept in it what is to be accepted, and take the freedom to oppose what I judge not defensible. As for the Sayings of our excellent Divines, I will not prejudice my Thoughts by the Reverence I have for their Authority: I will not therefore consult their Words, lest I should be tempted in the proceed of the Dispute to shelter my self under their great Names; and so perhaps I may engage a whole Army to fight, when a single Duel, or a small Skirmish, may put an end to the Action.

First then I and my Adversary must shake hands, we will agree as far as we can; and where we cannot we must wrestle it out.

I will therefore grant several things that are in his Preface according as they appear in the Pages: as pag. the 1st.

First, *That the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, or Non-resistance of our lawful Superiours has been a Doctrine founded in the holy Scriptures: and recommended to the Christian World by the practices of our Saviour's more immediate followers, and that the Church of England hath asserted the Principles of obedience to Princes, as the best Ages of Christianity owned and practised it.*

Secondly, P. 2d. I will grant too, *That it is the duty of every Christian actively to obey his Superior, in things lawful (so that the last word be duly interpreted) and that it is the duty of every Christian in things unlawful to suffer rather than obey.* And I will grant further all that S. Paul says, *Rom. 13. 2. Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.*

Thirdly, P. 4th. I will grant too; *That these Doctrines are not Apostolical and such as ought to be preached in all the World.* First, *That Power is originally in the body of the People.* Secondly, *That the foundation of all Government is laid in Compact, &c.*

Thus much we give, and that freely, and it is enough to satisfy any fair Adversary. But yet I must tell him, *That when he has all this, he has no reason to censure, reproach and blacken the Lives and Actions of so many excellent Persons: He has no ground from thence to disparage the late Revolution, or to think himself able to wheedle us into an opinion that we have done ill, and that we ought to repent much rather than give thanks to God or Man for the happiness we enjoy.* Certain it is, that when the effects and consequences of those general Doctrines come to be seen in the practice of Men, as some may flinch from their Duties, and do too little; so others may require more than Duty, and expect too much. For the Interests of this World blinds as well on one side, as on the other: and he that censures most boldly, is not always the most just and



and impartial Man. Defeated Ambition can easily charge Ambition, and worldly mindedness upon a prevalent Party; and Spite will throw out as freely, and as goodly words as plain downright Honesty can.

Let us then consider these three things again: First, Obedience. Secondly, Non-resistance. Thirdly, The Origination of Power; and see if we can frame clear Notions of these, and find out the particular distinct Duties, which Men must be obliged to, in consequence of them.

1. Then as to Obedience; It's plain that this is due to Kings, to all that are in Authority; and that by Laws, by Oaths, by the Laws of God, by the Laws of Men; the publick good, and the interests of Nations require it. Without this there can be no Government, and the People have more need to be governed, than a King can have to Govern; therefore they must obey not so much for wrath, out of fear of punishment; but for their own sake, for Conscience sake, for God's sake, and for their Countries sake. This is to be given frankly and fully; with all chearfulness, and upon all occasions, in all instances where it is possible. Nothing can be pleaded in bar to it, but onely want of Power. If the Laws of God, or the Laws of the Country, which oblige us to obey our Kings, make obedience in some instances morally impossible, then we must not obey, because we cannot; for what we cannot lawfully do, we cannot do at all; But where we are at our own disposal, not under previous necessary Obligation, there publick good, Law and Reason require us to obey without reserve, trick or device. For we must do what we can to support Government, and to carry on the ends for which Men are incorporated into Bodies Politick. Therefore in doubtful matters we must obey, as far as ever we can, and never omit our Obedience, but where the Cause is most clear and most urgent; there is no excuse, no exchange to be made, but the Duty must be paid in kind. Suppose that

that a great part of the People should take up a resolution not to do, but to suffer, a Prince would have a very ill bargain, if he accept the one in exchange for the other. For their sufferings can do him no good, and he and his People too may be undone for want of their doings. He must have assistance to repress the Thief, the Robber, the Murtherer, to secure his People from Pyracies and Invasions. Besides what a shame it is, that Princes should be so basely employed to find Racks and Gibbets, and Halters, and Hangmen for their People: They have their Power for nobler ends, to defend, to save, to do good, to give praise to them that do good, *Rom. II 3. 3.* And when they execute wrath, they must do it upon the Evil-doer, and that with this design, that they may save many, by taking off a few: or else all their Executions are stark naught.

There cannot therefore be a bargain driven between King and People, of giving and taking sufferings instead of doing, for Kings must be obeyed and the People must obey; the one cannot punish, and the other cannot suffer, but upon account of Transgression, and the Law declares the greatness of the fault, and the extent of the Punishment.

But yet some are apt to think, that Subjects may be acquitted of their Duty to their Prince by suffering as well as by doing; and when they have called the one Passive Obedience, and the other Active, they say the Prince is obeyed, and has his due, and ought to be satisfied. This seemed once to be a fundamental in the Quakers Doctrine, who would take a Cudgelling, a Whipping, a flogging or Imprisonment, with a great deal of satisfaction, whilst they would make themselves a distinguish'd People from others, by unaccountable humors and fancies, and tho they gave disturbance to their Neighbours and trouble to the Government, yet they would think themselves good Subjects, and very much obedient to the Prince only because they suffered. This was and is a gross mistake; for they that suffer,  
suffer

suffer because they do not obey; the Prince, the Judge, the Executioner, they themselves, all think they do not obey, for neither would he punish, nor ought they to suffer, if they did obey. But because they will not obey their Prince, he punishes, and they suffer. The Prince therefore in this case has no manner of Obedience.

But let us consider further, tho' we cannot barter with a Prince, and give him Suffering instead of Doing, yet we may be obliged to suffer, and we may obey in doing, and obey in suffering for so doing, and that Obedience may be called *Passive Obedience*; tho' in truth and reality all the Obedience which we perform in this case is *Active*. For we obey one, and suffer from another; we obey God, and suffer from Man, or we obey Man, and suffer from God. But because God hath commanded us not only to do our Duties, but likewise has commanded us in certain cases not only to do, but to be ready to suffer for so doing; our obedience to this Command of suffering has been called by some *Passive Obedience*. Now this is Great and Noble, and speaks an excellency of Spirit, which is most admirable, for Men to do well, and to continue in so doing, whatever they suffer upon that account. But as it is Noble, so it is hard and difficult. It is hard to be bound to confess Christ before Men that we may gain Heaven, and at the same time to be forced to lose all that we have on Earth for so confessing. This sets Body and Soul at variance, nay the Soul is confounded in it self, whilst hopes and fears engage one another in a severe conflict, the one would gain, and the other would not lose, the one pulls upwards, and the other downwards; upon this account the thing is difficult. But yet we must remember that for all the difficulty, it is very practicable, because it has been always required, and always expected. No Philosopher would ever allow him to be a good Man, who would flinch from his Duty upon the account of sufferings.



fering. To do so (they say) is slavish, and it is one of the Rules of the *Pythagoreans*, that in the exercise of Vertue a Man must have nothing of the Slave in him, ἀδουλὸς he must have no regard for any thing but his Duty. *Hierocles* p. 209. *Tully* in the 2d of his Offices will not allow it possible for a Man to be just, or honest, or good who fears either poverty, or pain, or banishment, or death it self, so as to be warped from right by the fears of them, or by the hopes of any advantages that are contrary to them. *Horace*, (that very easie Man, who can never be thought by a Heathen to be an over-severe director of (Conscience) expects from his just and good Man, that he should bear up against Tyrant and Rabble, and suffer all that their rage and fury can throw upon him; and yet not veer in the least from his point, but go on in his Duty, steddily and firmly.

*Iustum & tenacem propositi virum,  
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,  
Non vultus instantis Tyranni  
Mente quatit solidâ.*

This Principle of suffering in a good Cause for the sake of Vertue, Goodness, and Righteousness; or of doing our Duties, notwithstanding that we must suffer, lies so open and clear to the reason of mankind; that Men of worth and honour in every Age, could not fail to practise it.

And we Christians are bound to the observance of this Duty, as others were before, by the reason of the thing, as well as by precepts of Christianity. Whatever principle a Man has, and whatever he accounts a Duty, if he will be true and faithful, just and upright, it may sometime or other bring him under suffering; and he must be content with it, because it is base and unworthy in certain cases not to do it, it is a betraying of our Consciences, a forfeiture of all the good opinion that we can have of our selves.

Now,

Now, if this be true, and this be called Passive Obedience; that must not be looked upon as a peculiar of Christianity, or a new Doctrine introduced since our Saviour's days; much less can any particular Church appropriate the Rule to it self, because it lies in common to all mankind, and has sometimes been practised by the little as well as by the great.

Some perhaps may have just cause to complain of false Casuists, and base corrupters of the genuine sense of right Reason, and true Christianity; but when they have done it, they have only reprov'd a gross fault, they must not expect any great honour, for having had a right notion of a plain Truth.

If we would speak clearly, we must confess that our blessed Lord has not heightened this Duty, for he can expect no more sufferings than what Pain, and Beggery, and Death signifie; but as a most gracious and tender Master he has made all these much more easie and portable than ever they were before, and that in several ways; As first By giving us most gracious Promises of Reward in another World in case we are called to suffer, *Matth. 5. 9, 10, 11.* Secondly, By assuring us that assistances of God's grace come in to our help, whenever we do suffer, *Matth. 10. 13, 19. Phil. 1. 19.* Thirdly, By giving us such thoughts of God as are most powerful to support us under all sufferings. For what can dismay him, that will think with *S. Peter*, that he who suffers as a Christian, or suffers according to the Will of God, he may commit the keeping of his Soul to God in well doing, as unto a faithful Creator, *1 Pet. 4. 16, 19.* These things are beyond Philosophy, and they are mighty supports to all Christians, who must suffer for well doing. These would acquit the justice of God, if he had required sufferings as sufferings, and made them so necessary means of

Salvation; that he would accept of none into Heaven, but such as came thither as Martyrs through a flaming fire, or a Sea of blood.

But God is not so fond of suffering, as to require them for their own sakes. We are not bound like *Baal's* Priests to cut and slash our selves, that we may please our God. We are not bound to move others to cut our Throats, or to threaten to kill them, if they won't kill us, as *S. Augustine* tells the *Circumcellions* did.

We ought not to give advantages and opportunities to wicked Men to execute their wicked purposes upon us. In times of Persecution we are not bound to go out of our Houses, and provoke an enraged multitude to throw us in the Fires, or to the Lions. This rashness has been condemned by whole Councils; though at some time we may and must leave Father, and Mother, and House and Land, and Life it self for Christ's sake and for the Gospels, yet at other times we may keep them as well. Tho the first Christians (*Acts* 5. 41.) did rejoice, that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for Christ's Name; and as it is *Heb.* 10. 34. they took joyfully the spoiling of their goods. Yet they did as much rejoice, and gave hearty thanks to God when they suffered neither.

We must suffer, when we are called to suffer; but we are not bound to call to God to send sufferings upon us. We must take up the Cross, when it lies in our way; but we are not bound to go out of our way to find one; and when we do take it up, we must remember to follow Christ, who took it up when his hour was come; before that he oft withdrew and preserved himself from imminent dangers. And at the very last he ceased not to pray to his Father, that the Cup might pass from him. We are not to bring upon our selves needless sufferings, because



we are always bound to pray to God, that he would not lead us into temptations, but that he would deliver us from evil; And we are alwayes bound to believe that God is both able and willing to deliver us, and that too at such times, when we know not any particular means, by which deliverance should come to us, *1 Cor. 10. 13. 2 Pet. 2. 9. Dan. 3. 17, 18.*

We may and must suffer sometimes if it be the Will of God; and we may escape, if God will find out the way, and then we must accept of the deliverance, and we may as well please when we so escape, as when we suffer. It is not the Suffering, but the Cause that makes the Martyr. If we suffer *εἰς μαρτυρίαν* *Matth. 10. 18.* to give testimony to the World of our sincere faith in the Christian Doctrine, we may hope to be accepted; If we suffer for Righteousness sake, we have a promise to be happy; If we suffer for being true, just, or honest, we may commit our Souls to God as to a faithful Creator; we do well, and are satisfied in our own Consciences that we do so, not because we suffer, but because we persevere in doing our Duties to the end.

Now if Men will call this Passive Obedience they may, for here is Obedience, and here is Suffering; many advices and exhortations seem to move for this; and it is certainly worthy of the best thoughts of the Divines to teach it, to persuade the People to be ready upon occasion to practise it; it is in it self excellent, praise-worthy, as the Apostle says, a Duty which God and right Reason requires of us; our blessed Lord, and his Apostles both taught and practised it. All the Primitive Christians, who had the glory of being Martyrs and Confessors, acted from an intire submission to it. All sorts of Men see their Obligation for it; which Heathens derive from a sense they have of

Probity; Christians from Faithfulness, Simplicity and Sincerity. Kings as well as Subjects are bound to the practice, when ever it can become their Duty, that is, when ever their unhappy circumstances are such, that they must either suffer, or do something which they account extremely base, wicked, or unjust. This the glorious Martyr King *Charles* the First owned to be a truth, and sealed it with the last drop of his Blood. The Duty is laid upon all; the Interests of mankind require that it should, for without the observance of this Rule, all would be base, and slavish, and degenerate; there would be nothing of Vertue, or Praise, or Honour amongst Men.

But to leave this, there is another sense of Passive Obedience, as it is used to signify a peculiar Duty of Subjects towards their own Prince; it is a Duty which Princes do not owe to Princes, nor private Persons to private Persons; for though they may suffer and die, each by the means of the other, yet the sufferer is under no such Duty as can be called Passive Obedience; upon which account the Duty meant by the word in this sense is quite a different thing from what it was in the former. It comes in as a subsidiary Duty to supply the place of another, which in certain cases we cannot do. It is that which Princes take instead of Obedience, and as it comes from Subjects, it is sometimes called Loyalty, and sometimes Submission, and sometimes Obedience, but with such a distinctive mark before it, *Passive Obedience*, which speaks it not to be that which is ordinarily meant by the Name, but a very different Thing; sometimes it is explained as if it were no more than Non-resistance, and sometimes as if it were a more excellent Duty.

But

But however it is named or explained, certainly there is a great Duty owing from Subjects to Princes, and that not onely to the good, but to the bad, not onely when they rule according to Law, and require nothing but what is just and right: but when they go beyond Law, and Reason, and command some things which are against Conscience and Religion, then they may be obeyed in all things else, though they can't be obey'd in such particular points, though the Prince does not thereby lose his right, nor is the Subject less subject in all things wherein he ought to be so. The Command of God is, that we are to be subject to the Higher Powers; and a like Command is, that we are to profess Christ before men. If the Prince will command us to deny him, we cannot obey in that point. But yet we may be subject in all things else; we may live peaceably and quietly at home, if we be permitted to do so; we may give the Prince all those dues which St. Paul reckons up, *Rom. 13.* that is, Tribute, Custom, Fear, Honour.

We may love him, and trust him too, as long as he will be a Friend; but if he will be an Enemy, we must love him, though we cannot trust him. We cannot indeed do any thing that is base, and wicked, to gratifie his humor, his rage or fury; yet we may and should fight for him against all Enemies forein and domestick, to preserve his Person, and secure the good of our Country, when it is not beyond all doubt that he employs us as Instruments of Injustice and Wickedness.

Thus the Christians did under *Julian*; They served him against the *Persians*, and they would have served him in any executions of Right and Justice; But they would not have condemned the innocent, or cut the throats of the good, nor yet have done any thing toward the subversion of  
Christian.



Christian Religion, though *Julian* himself had commanded them.

But where they cannot fight for, they are not to fight against; though they cannot assist, yet they are not presently to oppose. *Papinian* the Lawyer would rather die, than make a plausible Speech to defend a bad action of his Prince; but yet as long as he had lived, he might have held his tongue, and said nothing against it.

It is a Duty to cover the nakedness of a Father, and of a Prince; many things may be ill done, and many should be born, and suffered patiently, many should be allowed upon the considerations of humane frailty, passion and indiscretion; what may be ill done may be repented of, and so ought to be pardoned and forgotten.

Subjects pardon one another, and oft beg the King's pardon, and so may very well pardon their King too; because as he hopes better from them, they may hope for better from him.

The common Offices which Charity requires from one private Christian to another are certainly as well due to Kings; Subjects must look upon themselves under Obligation to suffer long, and to be kind, not to behave themselves unseemly, not to seek their own, not to be easily provoked, not to think evil; to bear all things, to believe all things, to hope all things.

If these Duties were but well discharged towards Princes, all the rest that can be truly comprehended under the name of Passive Obedience would be much more easie.

Let Subjects do these sincerely and heartily, and stop a little and think; they will soon find, that they must yield more, and give greater allowances to Princes than to fellow-subjects; because they are higher Powers, they are ordained of God, they bear the Sword, they are to execute wrath upon them

them that do evil; and they are to give Praise to them that do good. These things are of high consideration, and they should beget in the minds of People a great Awe and Veneration for the Persons of Princes; for infinite are the Advantages that every single Man receives from the Administration of Justice, and the Distribution of Rewards and Punishments. What if Praise and Wrath sometimes mistake their way, and the first flies to the evil and the latter to the good? This is no more than what God's own Thunder does, as far as we can understand. The best Marks-man may sometimes miss, and the worst hit the Mark. When we undertake to vindicate God's Providence, we are forced to bring in extrinſick Pleas; and when we have done all, we confess that we do not understand the reason of Events; but we believe that all is well, because all comes from God. If we did but use a little of like Submission when we examine the Actions of Princes, in many Cases we may be content to say, that we do not understand; thereby we shall shew not only a Reverence to them, but a Reverence to God too: they are but Men, and may oft fail, and are always fallible; they do mistake, but the cause of their Mistakes are mostly from Subjects; these design and contrive one against another, and misrepresent, and the Prince hears from them, and sees by them; and the Law provides Punishments for those Misrepresenters, and acquits the Prince, because it seems impossible that one Man should find out such a number of honest and good Men to supply all the Trusts which he is to provide for, and never be cheated with one Knave; therefore if such a one will crowd in, the Prince is abused, and it cannot be help'd; but the Knave is to be punished, and the Prince excused from blame.

Besides,

Besides, The Work and Business of Princes is the hardest and most difficult that any sort of Men upon Earth have; because they have so many to order, and so many to defend; so many to reward, and so many to punish; so many that expect from them, and so many that must be disappointed in their Expectations; so many to deal withal that are false and base, and so many that are dull and sluggish; so many Knaves and so many Fools. Upon these Accounts, and many others innumerable, Princes ought to have all Favour, and all reasonable Allowances in Miscarriages; all fair Abatements for Mistakes and Errors in the choice of Ministers and Instruments that are to serve the Interests of the Commonweal: For it is certain that all the Laws, Rules and Methods of conducting publick Affairs, which the Wisdom of Ancestors for thousands of Years have found out, will not answer all the Behoofs of a Kingdom.

Old Rules are oft laid aside, other Expedients found out, and new Laws made: All the Prudence, and all the Wisdom in every Age, when best employed, is little enough to keep Government steady, and the People in good order; to repress the Outrages of the Factious at home, and give stop to the Contrivances of ambitious Enemies abroad,

Princes therefore are to be supported, defended, excused, pleaded for, as long as any plausible Pleas can be made for them: it is not enough that they are not taxed, censured, reproached, calumniated, blackened; but there is great reason that they should be gently treated, kindly dealt withal; the best Construction and the fairest Interpretation is to be put upon their Actions.

Law makes the Persons of Kings sacred, and their Actions are not to be examined without great Respect and Veneration.



If Subjects suffer (not altogether according to Rule) loss of Goods, of Honors, of Powers, they may and ought to bear it patiently, as long as they see any thing like Reason for it, if they can but think that the Good of a Nation requires it, that the Necessities of humane Affairs will have it, or that their Sins against God call for it; they do well to indulge themselves in all such meek and humbling Thoughts; thereby they will really practise two great Duties of Fearing God, and honoring their King.

Thereby they shew their Abhorrence of Plots and Conspiracies, of the Counsels of the Factious and Seditious; that they have no part with those who would overturn Kingdoms and States, Princes and People, Religion and Laws, to greaten themselves, to advance Projects and Devices, Tricks and Humors of their own.

They shew that they are good Men whilst they submit their private Concerns to the publick Good; and they shew themselves to be good Subjects, seeing they in reverence to their Prince bear all that which in reason can be thought tolerable.

They that do this, do a great Duty, a thing very commendable in it self; it is that which God requires, all that which the Interests of Princes can need, and as much as the Good of a Kingdom can allow.

The excellent Divines of the Church of *England* have endeavoured with all Care and Attention to ingraft this upon the Hearts and Minds of their Auditors; and they have had extraordinary effects of their Labors: for if all things be fairly considered since the beginning of K. *James's* Reign, it may perhaps be found, that no Nation in the World did ever deport themselves with greater Submission, Resignation, and hearty Obedience toward a Prince, than this has done. View the Actions of his Parliament, of the

Nobility, Gentry, chief Burghers; reflect upon their Fears and Jealousies; and let him that can, challenge them for the least provoking Action, or neglect of their Duty, until all things tended to confound him and them too, about the time of the fatal Desertion. For what could the late King wish? what could he desire? Would he be great and powerful? formidable to Enemies abroad, or Enemies at home? He had all things at Pleasure; his Parliament gave him Monies beyond Example largely; his Nobility raised him Forces; the Commonalty readily offered their Lives to serve him: he had Hands and Hearts and Purses of all Orders of Men at his Command; each strove to outvy the other in Loyalty and Dutifulness. He had the best opportunity that ever Man had to be great, if he could have been contented to have been King of *England*, or would have considered that he was a King of *Englishmen*. Why should he think his People to be Fools or Rascals, that they would part with their Laws or Religion for an Humor, merely because he thought that they might be as well without them? Their Forefathers had for many Ages past laboured hard to get their Laws fixed fairly and evenly betwixt Prince and People, for the good of both. And their Religion, at the Reformation, had singular Advantages to be cleansed from all the Corruptions which Folly and Vanity had brought upon other Churches; and the Professors of it have in all Times since been as industrious and curious to find out; and as free and impartial to discover any thing that looked like Mistake or Error in the first Settlement, as ever Men were. We have all that Christ and his Apostles taught; all that the Primitive Fathers recommended as Christian Doctrine. We can part with nothing (as the Papists own) because all we profess is pure and simple Christianity; and if we would

would take in what they have superadded, we must submit to a most heavy Burden of gross Cheats and Errors.

But yet the late King would try, he would make the Experiment whether we would be willing to part with our Laws and our Religion: he would use his Art and Policy to get them from us, and he has had the unhappy Fate of Projectors.

Upon this Account our Historian is not satisfied with what we have done or suffered. He thinks himself concerned to lay before us so many Sayings of our eminent Divines, on purpose to convince us, that we have not yet fulfilled all the Measures of a Passive Obedience: he would have it thought, that we have apostatised from the Doctrine of this Church; or, as he says, that this Doctrine is more illustrious in our Books than in our Lives.

The Truth is, we are not hanged; the Northern Heresie is not yet extirpated; we are not put into the condition of *French Refugees*, that we should be forced to leave our Goods, and fly from our Country to save our Lives. Our Church is preserved, and we are delivered from the Rage and Fury of petulant Enemies. We bless God for this. If he be grieved, let him find out that Fool who is willing to be hanged to gratifie his Humor with a scurvy Sight, or to put him into a better Mood. Neither can God nor Man please some Persons.

Passive Obedience is a Duty, but it is no further a Duty than God hath made it to be so; it is large enough of it self, it will not endure to be put upon the Tenters; if you stretch it never so little, you will make that which is good in it self to be stark naught: it is a Vertue as long as it stands upon its own grounds; if it steps beyond those, it is no longer a Vertue, but a Fury.



We must Obey we confess, and submit to Suffering, as far as God and Reason call for it; as far as publick Good and the Constitution of the Government requires it. But must we not only submit, but court Suffering? must we expose our selves to it? run upon it? make it our care and business to find it?

A certain Divine has said, and Hand in Margin directs us to note it, That *Obedience we must pay, either active or passive*; if we can't do one we must the other. But it was not his Mind that we should pay Sufferings just as we do Money, go at a certain Time and Place and tender it, and then be sure to give good Coin and full Tale. We may not pay, we may escape, we may get away from mischief: our Savior has given us leave, *when they persecute us in one City to flee into another.*

Can any Man be so barbarous as to blame the *French Refugees* for following that Rule of our Saviour? They have fled out of the Dominions of their Prince, and saved their Lives; and if they could, they would have saved their Fortunes too, and not paid him one Farthing of that Passive Obedience. Do they sin in this? Are they disobedient for this?

Men submit to the Outrages of a Prince, and so they do to a Fever, or the Plague; and tho they submit to God's Providence under those Calamities, yet they use all fit and proper means to lessen, to abate them, and if possible to be recovered from them.

In the utmost Extremities of Subjects, and highest Insults of Princes against Religion and Right, many things may and ought to be done.

1. They may make their Defences, and plead their Causes. Thus did *S. Peter*, and thus did *S. Paul*, and thus did the Primitive Fathers when they could be heard; and when

when they could not, they published their Apologies, and made the People Judges between their Prince and them, by disclosing the merits of their Cause to all the World. Our Savior himself encouraged them to this by promising to give them a Mouth and Wisdom, which all their Adversaries could not gainsay.

He promised them too the best Advocate that can be, the Holy Spirit to speak in them and for them; and that too when Rulers and Governors, Kings and Princes should appear against them: *Matt. x. 18. 20. Ye shall be brought before Governors and Kings for my sake: Take no thought what ye shall speak, for it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father.*

Our Reverend Bishops, when of late they were brought before Judges, I think for Christ's sake and the Gospel's sake, they did not wholly abandon themselves to the Will of their Prince, nor so act as if they thought it Duty forthwith either to do or to submit, either to pay him Active or Passive Obedience; for when they could not do the first, they did what they could to avoid the second. They stood upon the Defence, and used the best Mouths and best Wisdoms, the best Pleaders and Advocates in the Nation, to justify their Actions, to clear up their Innocence. And tho that Vindication of themselves did more affect the Interests of the late King than if they had raised up Arms against him: yet do I not hear that any one of them has repented of it, nor do I see cause why he should.

2. But then further, they may pray to God to find a way for their Deliverance. All grant that *Preces & Lachryme*, Prayers and Tears, are Weapons which the Christian always may, and upon all occasions ought to use; but yet the Stretchers of this Doctrine, ere they are aware, seem to extort these from us: for if it be our Duty to  
give.

give unto our Prince either so much in Active Obedience, or in lieu of that, so much as is equivalent in his Opinion, of Passive, we cannot pray to God for deliverance; because we cannot pray to God to free us from giving to our Prince his Rights, or to deliver us from doing our Duties.

3. We may accept of deliverance, and that in ways extraordinary without making the strictest examination of all the niceties, doubts, scruples which may occur in the case. Thus certainly *St. Peter* did in that remarkable action related, *Acts 12*. He left his Chains, his Goal, his Guards, and followed his Deliverer; tho he had all, and many more causes for scruple, than those which now adays give so much trouble, and seem so insuperable. For

First, He was committed to Prison by his King; upon that account, he might have thought it his Duty to obey in all things lawful, and patiently to submit in the rest, or else according to the other way of expressing it, That what he could not give to his Prince in Active obedience, he ought to make up in the Passive.

Secondly, His King went in the way of Justice, and designed to bring him to a Tryal. Upon that he might have thought, that a secret withdrawing of himself would disparage his Cause, and in the Opinion of others speak him guilty.

Thirdly. His King acted in behalf of the established Law, and Religion; *Josephus* tells us, he was one who had a great zeal for the Jewish Constitution, Polity and Worship. Upon that account *St. Peter* might think, that his King acted from Conscience, according to his Duty, in prosecuting of him, and therefore he was bound at the command of his King, to declare plainly and openly, up-



on what grounds he a private person undertook to draw people off from the settlement, and a long and most legally established Worship to a new one, especially he could not but see, what himself taught, 1 Pet. 3. 15. That it is the Duty of every Christian to be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh a reason of the hope that is in him.

Fourthly, The Case of his Guards, of the Keepers of the Prison-gates was most deplorable, he could not but see that his escape would be charged and revenged upon them: upon that he might think, that he ought not to do evil that good may come of it; to save his own life, he ought not to give cause and reason for executing of so many innocent Men.

Fifthly, There is another thing, which though much less, yet may give matter of scruple; for what will not? that in this sudden flight, it is not likely that he should pay his Jaylor for Fees or Diet. Upon this account he might think, that his Honesty would be questioned, and he would be accused of doing wrong and defrauding another of his dues, and that other Christians who should afterwards be committed, would suffer hardship and ill usage for his sake, and therefore he had better stay where he was, and give his Jaylor, and his Prince, and the Law, all they could require, and take from him; and so pay down a compleat Passive Obedience in full measure and tale by dying, to gratifie his Prince's humor; and expect the Reward of his Action from God.

This he might have thought; but he did not, for he followed his Deliverer out of the Prison, and took care to make good his deliverance, by absconding for near five years after, as Computers reckon it. Had he been under those strait boundaries of Conscience in this case, which others.

others think they are; Had he had their Rules of Duty; could he have seen it to be his Duty to stay in Prison, and suffer according to the will of his King; he could not have followed his Deliverer, though he had been an Angel, *Gal. i. 8.* and he could never have prevailed upon himself to have believed, that an Angel of God would have moved him to act contrary to his Duty.

He accepted of deliverance, and the whole Church that then was, blessed God for it; and in like cases so may and ought others to do, and that without penetrating into all the grounds of nicety and scruple, which Men seldom do, but when they design to seem extraordinary; and then usually they refine upon Morality, and set down Rules of Duty, which neither Humane Nature can bear, nor Christianity requires, and for the most part they are against the good of Societies, and do alike mischief to Kings as to Subjects.

Seeing then we are not by Gods Law so abandoned to the will and humor of a Man, though he be our King, but that when he proceeds in Methods of doing wrong and injury, of ruling by Power against Law; we may flee from him; we may plead our Cause and Right against him; we may pray to God to give a stop to him; and we may accept of deliverance from him. We must say that the modern Doctrine of Passive Obedience is stretched beyond its bounds; for we are not obliged to make it our business to give and pay him that, which he has no right to take; we are not obliged to put our selves into his way, and give him opportunity to cut our throats. We are not obliged not to move others to intercede for us, and if they can with justice, to defend and preserve us; we are not obliged to refuse a deliverance, if it comes to us.

But

But if Force prevails, and we are to be knock'd down by Violence, against Right and Justice, we must take care to fall as decently as we can, submitting to God's Providence, and giving all respects to our King as far as our Case will allow, if our Calamity comes from him. For this will bring credit to our Memories, and to our Religion; and may do good to others who shall be in our condition, by appealing of wrath and displeasure, how unjustly soever conceived against them or us.

I will end this Discourse with one Remark upon the Case of *Isaac*. He was a noble instance of a very extraordinary Obedience: he submitted entirely to the Will of his Father, and of his King; for *Abraham* was both to him: but yet the Praise of that wondrous Action related *Gen. 22.* falls to the Father, and not to the Son. Much is said of *Abraham's* Faith, and little of *Isaac's* Obedience: whatever other Reasons there are for it, one is very obvious and plain, That it might not be a President from whence Kings might measure their Rights, and Subjects their Duties.

So much of Obedience, *Active* and *Passive*. The next thing to be treated of is the Doctrine of *Non-resistance*. This our Historian tells us has been avowed by the Church of *England* ever since the Reformation; Preachers and Writers, have declared for it, and that with a great deal of warmth, and much advantage, especially in latter days. Upon this Account he would have it thought, That Men have swerved from their Principles, and that this Doctrine, as well as the other, is more illustrious in Writings than in Lives. Now this Censure I challenge to be very hard and unreasonable, because it does not appear, that those Men who preached up *Non-resistance*  
F before,



before, have ever preached for Resistance since; nor have they who persuaded others to Non-resistance resisted themselves. The Preachers suffered in King James his Time all that he laid upon them, and that with patience enough; and since his Desertion, they have had no Temptation to speak either of Resistance or Non-resistance: for the truth is, that this is one of those sort of Doctrines, which is in the Text, but is not yet got into the Creed; it may come into the Pulpit, and may be kept out of it: it will neither do King nor People good, but when external Emergencies call for it. In peaceable and quiet Times, when Law and Justice flourish, and there is little complaining either in House or Street; if Preachers harangue upon Non-resistance, they puzzle and confound the People, and give 'em ill Work, to find out possible Causes of Resistance, and to examine the Grounds and Reasons for Non-resistance. But when the People grow peevish and froward, quarrelling and complaining against, daring and designing upon the Government; then the Doctrine of Non-resistance, and S. Paul's Text for it, may be brought forth to awe and scare them, to terrifie and affrighten them, to allay their heat and fury, and to bring them to a more discreet Temper, to the Exercise of Christian Patience and Modesty. Upon this account many have much commended the Labors of the Church of England Divines in the late Times of Contrasts and Oppositions, of Plottings and Counter-plottings, because they did much good in supporting of the Government, and for the restraining of the Madness of People, and toward the prevention of Intestine Broils and Civil War.

But yet seeing the Preaching or not Preaching upon that Subject is matter of Prudence, and depends upon times

times and seasons, and many by considerations, from whence it may either do good or harm: it must be confess'd that Sermons of that sort were not every where received with the like favour and submission. Because some feared that great Evil to the Kingdom and Nation might come from them, inasmuch as they naturally tended not only to tame and subdue the People, by allaying their zeal for their Civil Rights and Interests; but likewise they might embolden evil Ministers and Counsellors to set the King upon the pernicious Project of making his advantage of the Subjects good nature and easiness toward the subverting of their Religion, Laws, Rights, and the enslaving of the whole People.

For that reason many said, that the Preachers were too warm and went beyond their boundaries; for they ventured sometimes to treat upon matters that were only to be concerted betwixt the King and his People in a Parliament; they did not think that the *Magna Charta* was against the Law of God, tho' it is not altogether the same with *Samuel's* Declaration, 1 *Sam.* 8. They did not think that God would damn Men for defending and securing in all just, and fair ways those Rights which they have received from their Forefathers, by virtue of a National Constitution, that has remained one and the same for some Hundreds of years.

They observed, that there is but one Text declaring the damnation of Subjects resisting; but there are Hundreds that threaten as highly Kings and Governors, and Potentates who are injurious and oppressive of those that are under them. Now if Charity govern Men in the choice of that Subject, and it be designed to save the Souls of the People from damnation; they wished that there were intermixed a little Charity toward the Souls of Kings, that

they too might be rescued from the damning sin of Oppression. And it was thrown out (with an *under Correction*) that if Kings would venture against so many Texts upon Gods pardon, to enlarge their Powers, the People might as well venture against one to preserve their Rights.

Besides, it was somewhat sharply and angrily said by the Men who had been intrusted in Parliaments and in the management of publick Affairs, That seeing the Clergy challenged spiritual Powers by vertue of the Text, and would not allow Kings or Parliaments to limit, abridge, or straiten their Rights; They might well leave the temporal Power to the Text too, which is the Law of the Land, and the proper Interpreters of it, which is a Parliament; and not presume dogmatically to determine against the use of that which at sometimes is the onely natural and necessary means to obtain and secure to themselves Right and Justice.

Thus Men differed and spake their thoughts freely concerning the usefulness and effects of those Discourses, especially as to the point of Prudence in the timing of them. But yet whatever they said, it is manifest that the Preachers designed no base or mean thing, to betray their Countrey, their Religion, or the Laws, to the arbitrary disposition of the King, whilst they perswaded to Christian Patience and Submission, because the same Men that preached up Non-resistance, did with Courage and Spirit enough in proper time and place appear in the behalf of the Laws and the established Religion, both against Popery, and against all unjust usurpation of the peoples Rights: and if at other times they did any thing toward the correcting a tumultuous and rebellious humor, to prevent Civil War and Confusion; the Nation has the benefit of their labours, and all persons of Justice and Equity owe them due thanks.

But



But yet our Historian is as angry, as if a Hare had crossed him in the way, something has happened which he thought not of, and who can help that? He might have thought better. They are in, and perhaps he is out; for that reason he will think, that they have changed their Principles: Alas, this is gross mistake. They did their duty in declaring to the people, that they ought not to resist, but they never became Warrantees to the late King, that in case of Wrong and Injury they would not. All the World knows, that it is good for a Nation, that the People should think, that they ought not upon any pretence whatsoever resist their King; so that the King does but at the same time remember, that Oppression makes a wise Man mad, and that an injured people always did, and always will endeavour to recover or secure their Rights, as well against their King, as against their Neighbours.

He must have rare Skill in Language and Argument, who can prevail upon a people to be willing to be Slaves, when they may, and ought to be free; or to stand still and see their Goods taken from them, merely because another has a mind to them. If they must lose in one kind, they expect to gain some other way; for generally they are of Saint Peter's mind, when he said to our Saviour, *Matth. 19. 27. We have forsaken all, and followed thee; what shall we have therefore?* The Question deserved an Answer, and upon it our Saviour gave a most gracious promise of advantages in this World, and in the other too.

Had we the like Promise in the Case of Submission or Non-resistance to Princes, who will be Absolute and Arbitrary, Divines would have a better Argument, and might expect better effects of their Discourses. But seeing the Non-resisters have no promise of Pardon for their other sins, and so of Salvation, the Non-resisters, who have for-  
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taken all, must come to *S. Peter's Query*, and ask, What shall we have therefore? And the Resisters who have saved all, will hope to escape damnation as well for that sin, as for all the rest.

It must be confess'd, that there are many and good arguments from Reason, from Policy, from Law, from Scripture for Submission, or Non-resistance of Kings, and that of bad as well as good, and in most cases too.

But when the main stress of the Assertion is laid upon one Text of *St. Paul*, which threatens no less than damnation to the Offenders against that Point; there must be great care taken to fix the true sense of the Text, or else Men will deduce from thence very incredible things, which will easily be discovered to be false; and so instead of recommending a Duty, they will blemish it, and beget in the people a disgust to it. And who knows but some of the inferior Clergy in the late times might offend in this kind; seeing it was generally said that they had too great a regard for a busy Writer, who then presumed to lay down monstrous and destructive Principles against the National Constitution, and yet dared to challenge to himself the Title of being a gentle Guide, or humble Hint to those Gentlemen. Tho' he and they did make great use of that Text, yet both might be mistaken in the sense of it; it is not unlikely; and it is possible that their mistakes in the event may have done good to the Nation; for extravagant Discourse like harsh Physick many times operates the quite contrary way from what was designed.

After all their noise and pudder, I must say, that I do not find that Men have spoken clearly either the Nature of the Sin, or the Weight of the Punishment; They do not tell us what Resistance signifies, nor yet who are the particular and onely Objects of a damning Resistance, nor yet  
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lastly, whether Damnation in the Text speaks nothing less than downright Hell and Eternity of Torments; for many sins may be in their nature damnable, but they that have committed them, need not presently be concluded certainly to be damned.

Denials, Refusals, Oppositions made against Opinions, Desires, Demands, especially if others be solicited to join in with the Opposers, may in a large sense be said to be Resistances; but yet such actions may be far enough from being damning sins, or else many times woful must be the condition of Privy Counsellors, of Parliament Men, Lords and Commons, and of Judges, who will not allow of Kings Patents, which are against Law.

Suppose such a Case should have happened amongst us, which once was betwixt *Ahab* and *Naboth*; must he that acted *Naboth's* part be damned for refusing to part with or exchange his Inheritance?

Or suppose such another clownish Churl as *Nabal*, who sent the unmannerly answer to *David*; or had it been to *Saul*, a King in possession; If in consequence to that Answer, when the Commissioned Officers came against him, to kill and spoil him, and all his, he had appealed to Law, and stood upon his defence, till the matters were brought to a legal Trial, he might be said then to have resisted; and therefore perhaps he might have deserved to have been whipped for his sauciness; but it is somewhat too much to think that he must needs be damned for it.

But *David's* case is much worse, when his Master sought his life, he lifted Soldiers, and seized upon strong Holds; and stood upon his defence in a way that looks like open defiance, so far was he from submitting or surrendering himself to *Saul's* Officers, or *Saul* himself; and after all we do not find that he repented of this Sin, or  
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begg'd God's pardon for it. What now, can we have no hopes of God's mercy toward *David*? Must he for that resistance certainly be damned; or if he had a particular Dispensation from God; yet I fear his Soldiers had not; and their case must then be deplorable; for the reason and justice of Gods proceedings in the case was the same always, and St. *Paul's* Text does not seem to speak a new designment of God to raise the Interests of Kings higher; and subject the People lower than they were before. Something therefore for *David's* sake should be thought on, that the Text should be so limited that we may have some hopes for him, and for his Soldiers too.

But yet we have a nearer Case that is piteous, and deserves some thoughts, and that is the Case of *George Walker* poor Man, he is one of *Solomon's* wise Ones, who by his wisdom has saved his City; He has done a brave Action, and all that hear it, commend and admire it, excepting the late King's Soldiers, and perhaps in their hearts they admire him too. But after all the praises and commendations of the generality of Mankind, and those coming freely and sincerely upon the supposition of true Interest, without design of daubing or flattering the great and the proud: must (I say) this Man after all this be thrown into Hell, and damned as one of the worst of Miscreants? Such judgments as these will confound the genuine and most delightful Idea's that Men have of God's Goodness, and Wisdom; they may serve perhaps to adorn a Discourse for absolute Reprobation, or upon the excellency of damning for damnings sake, without regard to Sin; but they can have little other use for glory to God, or Man; for good of King or People.

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These, and many other Cases ought to be well considered before we fix the Sense of the Text; because, as in all Sciences, one Truth agrees with another; so in the Interpretation of Scripture, every single Text that stands by it self, must be expounded according to the Analogy of Faith, that is, the general Agreement of the rest.

But Secondly, There is further Matter of Consideration about the Person that is to have the Benefit of *Non-resistance*, it is many times very difficult to discover who He is; and it would be hard, if upon a Mistake in that point, the erring Person should be damned in the strict sense of the Word.

There is something that governs in human Affairs, beyond the Thoughts and Imaginations of Men; the Wheel goes smoothly on, but of a sudden meets with a rub, and the Carriage, perhaps, is overturned, the headless Multitude then stare and wonder, and say the like was never seen before, and yet the like has oft happened. What seemed to be ruled is over-ruled, and then men seek for their Rule, and know not where to find it: Thus men are almost fatally confounded, they think and act contrary to one another, and yet each believes himself in the right, and that he has strength and clearness of Reason on his side. Its very possible that our Historian is still for King *James*, and thinks him now as truly King of *England* as he was before: And it is very likely, that I am for King *William*, and think him as truly, and as much King, as ever King *James* was. We do not stand in the same light, we do not think of the same things, and so we differ. And had we lived in many other Periods of time, it is very likely that we might have differed too: Had we lived when *Saul* was made King over *Israel*, I know not but he might have been a-

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gainst him, and I for him. At *Saul's* death it is probable, that he might have been for *Saul's* Son *Ishboseth*, and I for *David*. At *David's* death, he might have been for *Adonijah*, and I for *Solomon*. For *Adonijah's* Appearances are very taking, he was the eldest Son then living of King *David*, he was a goodly Personage, and his Father's Darling. 1 *Kings*, 1 6. Yet my *Solomon* reigned, and the People obeyed with a very good Conscience; and that though he himself was somewhat suspicious of his Title; for he did not trust to his Anointing by King *David's* order, but got himself to be made King a second time, 1 *Chron.* 29. 22. But to go on, Let us pass over the instances of *Rehoboam* and *Jeroboam*, of *Zimri* and *Omri*, and many others who gave occasions to like difficulties. Suppose we had lived in the days, when *Jehu* took possession of the Kingdom of *Israel*, it is very possible that he might have been for *Foram*, or *Foram's* Son, or some of the Family of *Ahab*; and it is as possible that I might have been for *Jehu*, he for a King according to the modern Phrase, *de jure*; and I for a King *de jure*, and *de facto* too. For he was a Conqueror, tho' not of the People (neither he, nor they ever thought so) yet of the King he was; and so if the Cause of the War was just, his Title was certainly good: Some think he was a Rebel, I am not concerned to dispute that Point; but if he were, he came to the Throne in the same way that *Jeroboam* did, who was the first beginner of that Kingdom, and so could transmit to his Successors no more Title to the Regal Dignity than he had himself: Be that as it will, let my Adversary be for *Foram*, or *Foram's* Son, and I for *Jehu*; he has the Point of Loyalty to a late King on his side, and I the Point of Loyalty to my God on my side; both great Pleas. But at such a time mine seems (at least to me) to be the better; because there is something in Religion that ties me faster



to my God, than any thing else can eye another to his Prince: Now if an *Ahab* or a *Joram*, will not only be disloyal to their God, but require me, and use all the Tricks and Sights in the World to gain me, and the rest of the People, to a like Disloyalty; if he will daringly and boldly trample upon the Religion established by Law; if he will require absolute Obedience, and Obedience without Reserve, and make his Will the Law, and me, without Law, or pretence to Law, his Slave; Why must I in such a Case as this, be against my God, and against my self, for one who has the Name of King, but has thrown away from him all that which should, and all that which can speak him in the Exercise of true Kingly Power over *Israel*.

I cannot tell, but some may think me in the wrong, for declaring to be for God and *Jehu*, against *Baal* and *Joram*; but if I am, I may be rectified by being informed, that either now there is, or ever was such a man, who could perswade himself that any one true Servant of the God of *Israel*, in those days, did not heartily close in with *Jehu*, and submit to his Government; or that any Worshipper of *Baal*, who was so in reality, did do it; and then there could be no Grumbletonians in those days, except the Halters, those that were betwixt God and *Baal*, and could be very indifferent whether they worshipped the one or the other.

Thus we must see, that the things which are, have been of old; there are difficulties in human Affairs, and men have had great Grounds to differ about the Subject of Regal Power, and so about the Object of *Non-resistance*, and that not only in *Israel*, but as might be easily shewn among the *Affyrians*, *Persians*, *Romans*, *Britains*, *English*, and very much in this Nation, since the *Norman Conquest*.

Now this difficulty may be an Argument to move Men not to be over-positive, in determining, that Damnation, in the strict sense, shall be the Portion either of the one or the other, in case he acts sincerely according to his best knowledge, whether he stands up for his King, or his God; whether he stands to Defend a former King in the Rights he had, or another who takes possession upon the supposition of a Desertion or a Conquest: Whether he be willing to have continued, or to have been made a Slave, and lose his civil Rights, and the Exercise of the true Religion; or whether he had rather to have been made free, and so let easily into his Rights, by the Assistance of another who might justly do it; and if he would, might have left 'em in full enjoyment of their folly and misery.

*Thirdly*, As to the Punishment here denounced by the word *Κρίμα*, or Damnation, whether nothing less can or ought to be understood by it, but down-right Hell or Eternity of Torments. Here many things ought to be well weighed before we determin positively in so great a point. As 1. That all Men agree, that there are different Senses of this Word in Scripture. 2. Commentators do much differ and contend about the true meaning of it in this place. And tho' Dr. *Hammond* be resolute in this assertion, yet by the multitude of Objections, which in his Notes he labours to answer, he shews that his Opinion was neither general nor clear. 3. That as the Commentators differ, so the interpreters seem somewhat to differ too. For what is in King *James's* Translation, *shall receive to themselves Damnation*, is in the Bishops Bible (Translated in Queen *Elizabeth's* time) *shall receive to themselves Judgment*. Some may think that both these words signify the same: But if they cast an Eye upon another Text, *Rom. 5. 16.* they will hardly do it, for these we have, *Κρίμα eis τὸ Κατάκριμα* and

and that is rendred in the Bishops Translation; *for the fault came unto Condemnation*, but in King James's it is, *for the Judgment was to Condemnation*. Fault or Judgment, here, is not the same with Damnation, or Condemnation, but that which leads to it. And if we look into 1 *Tim.* 5. 12. it will be worthy of a little remark: That tho' the Translators differ in the former places; yet they intirely agree to render here the word *καίμα* by Damnation; but if you look into St. *Chrysostome*, and most of the old Writers, and Dr. *Hammond* himself; you will find that Hell-punishment is by no means to be understood in that Text.

*Fourthly*, It is to be observed further, that as Men differ concerning the nature of the punishment, so they differ concerning the quality of the sin. Some tell us that the Apostle means here a very monstrous sin, a sin as black as Hell it self; and then they tell us that the demerits of it are no less than Hell Torments: Others speak of a sin which they describe with all possible alleviating circumstances; and as the sin they speak of, is quite of another nature from the other, so the punishment is, which they suppose to be allotted to it. Now if Men did agree about the sin, there could be little dispute about the punishment. The Reverend Dr. *Hammond* in his Paraphrase on the first verse of *Rom.* 13. says, That the Apostles advice is contrary to the Doctrine and Practice of the *Gnosticks*, and he refers us to the 8th. verse of St. *Jude's* Epistle, to see what that was; and there we have an account of a company of wretched, woful sinners, such as no Man now in *Europe* would be in the least concerned to pity, if he thought that Hell-Torments were decreed for them; and so in reference to them, Damnation in the Text may be interpreted in the strictest, and most severe Sense. They are described *Jude* 8th. as filthy Dreamers, that defile the Flesh, despise.



spise Dominion, and speak evil of Dignities: Upon which words, Dr. *Hammond* in his Paraphrase says, *That they fall into all unnatural filthy Practices, and teach the Doctrine of Christian Liberty, so as to free all Christians from all Authority of Master or KING.* Here we have two Characteristick Notes of them, that they were most impudently declaring against all manner of Civil Government, and against all manner of Vertuous Life. Now to both these St. *Paul* speaks in the 13. chap. to the *Rom.* to the First, verses 1, 2, and 3. and to the Last, verses 13, 14; and therefore it is possible, as the Dr. hints, that St. *Pauls* Discourse in that Chapter, is intirely directed against these.

And perhaps the Author of the Preface to the History of PASSIVE OBEDIENCE, is of the same Opinion in the case, because he brings in an excellent Divine of the Church of *England*; and now one of our Right Reverend Fathers in God, speaking their sin and folly in these words; *The Gnosticks thought all the Governments of the World to be nothing else, but the contrivance of some evil spirits, to abridge Men of their Liberty, which God and Nature had given them; and that this is the speaking evil of Dignities, which they are charged with by St. Jude.* Now if these be the Men, and that the sin which St. *Paul* provides against in the 13. to the *Rom.* there can be no dispute in the Christian World concerning the sense of the word *κείνα* in the Text; as it is, so it ought to be rendred Damnation, or the Punishment of Hell.

But then, When the same Dr. *Hammond* in his Notes (perhaps forgetting what he had hinted in his Paraphrase) describes another sin, and cloathes that with all possible alleviated circumstances, and will have down-right Damnation, or Hell Torments to be the Punishment which Gods Justice designs for it; it is no marvel that he

he finds many Objections, and hard work to answer them.

If he would but allow the word to be interpreted as it has been either by *Fault*, or *Judgment*, or *Damnation* in that lesser sense, in which it is used, 1 *Tim.* 5. 12. He would neither find nor make any matter of controversy; for all will readily grant, that Resistance of a King, in most, almost all Cases, is a fault, and leads to Judgment, and will certainly bring to Damnation, at least, in the sense, the word is used in the last mentioned Text.

These things well considered, may divert men from rash and hasty Judgments, and move them not to be easy in the declaring the Damnation of their Neighbours, who may be urged by a sense of extream necessity, to do those things which they would not, since they have not so clear a Text, as they imagined, to support the weight of their assertion. Because it is possible, that the sin meant in the Text may be such as can now be charged upon no Man; and it is possible that the word Damnation there, may have no such dreadful signification, as in some certain places it has.

These things I have set down, not by any means to encourage Resistance against Princes; for that, in most Cases, is a great sin, and every sin tends to Damnation. But I would move men to frame their Pleas against it, from proper Heads, and such as are most likely to prevail. Because, generally, scaring and affrightning Arguments, if they be not very clear, and well grounded, do but beget Suspitions and Doubts, fill men with Prejudices, make them stiff and perrinacious in their Mistakes, and heedless of sober Instructions in undoubted Duties. Obedience is the thing that is due to Princes, and must be paid to them, as well for our own sakes, as for theirs, as well for Conscience sake towards God, (who is a God

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of Order, and not of Confusion) as upon the Account of Wrath, and for fear of Punishment: For if we don't obey, he can neither secure himself, or protect us; it can scarcely happen, that he can suffer alone; in such a case, he himself must be the Author of his own Calamity. He must sap the Foundations upon which his Palace stands, and cut down the Pillars that would have Supported him. Thus he may be overwhelmed on a sudden, and his People not suffer much, but in the general course of things, King and People go together; if one suffer, all suffer. And therefore it is the Interest, as well as the Duty of People, to obey; this they apprehend, and are ready to comply with all; and that without taking into thought, the nice Speculations about the outmost stretch of Power; or what are the highest, and what may be the lowest Measures of Submission: What a King may take, and what they may, and ought, or ought not to yield. The Talk of *Non-resistance* (whatever men think) does little good in the World; and the Talk of Resistance, in a certain Case, does as little harm: For where *Non-resistance* is most cryed up, and strongly avowed, there have been most vigorous Resistances; and where there has been a Resistance owned as lawful in a certain Case, there has been a most profound Obedience, and no Resistance at all. Of the first, *England* is an Instance; of the second, *Rome*: I must profess, it is strange and puzzling to me, and may be so to others, to compare the Doctrine of our Divines with the Doctrine of *Bellarmino*, and to see both in *England* and *Rome* quite contrary effects, from what their Doctrines tends to: Our Men call for *Non-Resistance*; and will not allow of any Resistance of the King, or those Commissioned by him upon any pretence whatsoever. *Bellarmino* tells us plainly, that the highest Power, the very Supream, as he thinks of all, the



the very Pope himself may be resisted, and that with Gun and Sword, with Force and Arms, in a certain Case; and yet the Pope never complains of this, the Papacy receives no harm by this, and there is no Resistance made against him, but profound Obedience is given unto him. But then there is not the same effect of the Doctrine of *Non-resistance* amongst us; for the Divines most engaged in teaching of it, and founding their Hopes and Expectations upon it, do now complain of miserable Disappointments, and seem to think the World mad, or at least very foolish, that they do not meet with an intire Compliance with it.

There must be a great Mistake some where or other, and yet it is strange there should be one in such a Case as this, which lyes clear and open alike to all. *Bellarmino* certainly saw all the difficulties that our Divines do, and our Divines see all the Reasons that *Bellarmino* did, and yet both are resolute in the Contradictory: It is pretty to consider the Thoughts of *Bellarmino* in the Case; after he had wrote his five Books *de Pontifice*, and therein set up his Pope as high, as high may be, next and immediately under God himself, Christ's Vicar, supreme over all, Emperours, Kings, Princes, Nations, Countries, and that by divine Right, Warrant, and Authority; unaccountable to all the Tribunals in this World, judge of all, and to be judged by none. He then falls to write of the Authority of Councils, and goes on still in the same way to mount his Pope, as well over all Church-Power, as over all Temporal. And having done this, any one would think, that he had made a compleat irresistible, or a most proper Object of *Non-resistance*: But *Bellarmino* thinks not so; for he thinks again, that this his wonderful great one is yet but a man, and possibly he may commit Faults, he may mis-rule, mis-govern; he may design to subvert the Constitution of the Church, he

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may endeavour to ruine and to destroy it: Upon that he queries, Whether the Church, in such a Case, has no Remedy, no help, nothing to do toward its own preservation; must it needs sink and fall, because a certain man is willing it should? *Bellarmino* says no, and directs several Methods to be used for the Support of it, which are softer, more decent, and mannerly; but after all, if they should fail, he speaks roundly that this Pope is to be resisted, to be opposed *Vi & Armis*, with Force and Arms; and that in such a Case, there needs no Authority to justify the Action of those that resist him.

His own Words are these, *de Conciliis. Auctor. Lib. 2. C. 19.* At inquit, ergo sola Ecclesia sine Remedio manet, si habet malum Pontificem, & poterit Pontifex impune omnes vexare, & perdere, & nemo resistere poterit.

Respondeo, non mirum, si manet Ecclesia sine Remedio humano efficaci, quandoquidem non nititur salus ejus præcipuè humana industria, sed divina protectione, cum ejus Rex Deus sit. Itaque etiamsi Ecclesia non possit deponere Pontificem, tamen potest ac debet Domino supplicare, ut ipse Remedium adhibeat: Et certum est, Deo fore curæ ejus salutem; qui tamen Pontificem, vel convertet, vel de medio tollet, antequam Ecclesiam destruat. Nec tamen hinc sequitur, non licere resistere Pontifici Ecclesiam destruenti; licet enim eum servata reverentiâ admonere, & modestè corripere, repugnare etiam vi & armis, si Ecclesiam destruire velit: Ad resistendum enim, & vim vi repellendam non requiritur ulla Auctoritas.

That is in English thus, by way of Objection and Answer.

*But they say, then the Church only is without Remedy, if she has an ill Pope, and the Pope may securely vex and destroy, and none may resist him.*

I answer, it is no marvel, if the Church be without all human effectual Remedy, seeing her preservation does not chiefly depend upon mans care, but God's protection, inasmuch as God is her King. Therefore, although the Church cannot depose a Pope, yet it may, and ought to pray to God, that he would give a Remedy; and it is certain, that God will take care of its preservation, and so will either convert the Pope, or take him out of the World, before he can destroy the Church. But yet it does not thence follow, that it may not be lawful to resist a Pope endeavouring to destroy the Church: For it is lawful, keeping up a due Reverence, to admonish him, and modestly to reprove him, and to fight against him with Force and Arms, if he will destroy the Church: For to resist, and repel Force with Force, there is required no Authority at all.

Thus Bellarmine says, and he is very clear, that it is lawful to Resist the highest Power, the Pope himself, for the sake of the Church, to preserve it from Ruine and Destruction; I hope no Man will say that this may be done for the Church of Rome, but not for the Church of England, or that we are not bound to have as great Zeal for our Church, as he has for his; I am sure, we cannot challenge, in behalf of a King of England, more right to impunity, or make him look more unaccountable than Bellarmine does his Pope. And so there can be no more Grounds of concluding for, or against the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance* in the one case than in the other. But yet, Some may think themselves under deeper Obligation than others, and they may practice the intire Duty of a compleat *Non-Resistance*; none will blame them for it, so that they do not condemn others, who are not so easie as they, to give up their Church, and civil Rights, when they are not obliged to it, as far as they can see, either



by the Law of God or Law of the Land: Men must give allowances to one another, because it may be possible that they may differ about Notions that are very near to first Principles; I know not but some may affect slavery, as a state exercising high Vertue, and tending to perfection; others that cannot reach at such heights, content themselves with freedom, and think that, a useful and desireable convenience: This may seem strange, but from thence it comes, as far as I can guess, that some in the same Text, and same Words, finds Argument that they should be Slaves, and others that they should endeavour to be Free. *St. Paul* says, *1 Cor. 7. 21. Art thou called being a Servant? Care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather.* Upon these Words, some say that *St. Paul* recommends to us slavery, and would have us to be Slaves, tho' we can be made Free, and so much the rather, because we can; others say, that the Apostle would have us be content to be Slaves, when we are Slaves; but if we can be made Free, we should choose Freedom rather. Here is a great difference, which does not derive from the Text, but from previous thoughts, which Men have entertained concerning Slavery and Freedom. As they are affected to the thing, so they judge that they find Argument for it. Now I for my part am for the later interpretation, because I have a good Opinion of Liberty or Freedom; but if another prefers slavery, and thinks he has Argument from that Text to be a Slave, let him be a Slave, and let him enjoy his Opinion of the thing, and of the Text too, I shall not hinder him. But I must say, it would be an undecency in him to call my understanding into question for differing from him, because I have the highest Probability, the Concurrence of the Wifest, and the best in all Ages.

on my side. But yet this may be done, because when Men leave common Sense, and seek for extraordinary Notion, they usually grow froward and troublesome. *Tacitus* remarks in the 14th. of his Annals, that some who had got into their Heads that flight of the *Stoicks*, That a Wise Man was a KING, presently begun to be busy and meddling, and very scornful of others; *Ea male intellecta arrogantes faciebat & turbidos*. It is pity that such little things should give disturbance to Kingdoms and Nations, but it cannot be help'd, for it is Opinion that governs Men; and it is not what is great, but what is thought to be great that stirs them. A little before the fatal overthrow of *Jerusalem*, there were many warm Persons in it, who had their Heads full of Fancies, and particular Notions, and for the sake of them, they could run upon the most desperate Enterprizes, but they would not know the things that belonged to their Peace. *Pliny* has a saying, that has much puzzled Physicians and Criticks; He says, that Men die of Sapience or Wisdom, *per Sapientiam Mori*. The Physicians find no such Distemper in their Books, but guess that he means a Phrensy; Something there is, that gets into Mens heads, which seems to them that have it, to be high Wisdom, but to others a meer Phrensy, which is extreamly mortal and pernicious. *Solomon* so long ago, advised properly against it, and it were to be wish'd, that his Counsel might yet be taken: He says, *Ecclesiastes 7. 16. Be not Righteous overmuch, neither make thy self overwise; why shouldest thou destroy thy self?* It is hard to think that Men should be either over-righteous or over-wise; but if Men will affect impracticable Notions without sufficient Grounds, and look upon them as their Righteousness, or their Wisdom; and that meerly because these are against themselves, and destructive of themselves;

selves; they may well enough be said to be over-righteous, and over-wise.

*Thirdly*, The Third thing to be spoken of, is the Origination of Power; and this is a Subject which I could willingly omit, because I judge it for the Interest of a Nation, both King and People; that the People have as High, and as Reverend Thoughts as they can, both of their King, and his Power: Let them think, that they have their King from God; and that he has his Power from God, and let him think so too; all this tends to good, because it will make him in the Exercise of his Power, to Act in the fear of God; and by vertue of that fear, to abstain from wrong, and to do Justice: And it will awe the People with a dread of their King's Majesty, and of their God's; and so keep them from being froward, and peevish; mutinous and rebellious, whilest they believe themselves in such actions, not only to be offenders against the Law of the Land, but sinners against the Will and Pleasure of God. Upon this Account, I could willingly chime in with the Compiler of this History, and with him, fault *Hobbs*, and *Milton*, and *Doleman*, or *Parsons*; and with him declare against those Doctrines, *That Power is originally in the Body of the People, and that the Foundation of all Government is laid in compact*, as he says in his Preface. And I could say with him in his conclusion, *pag. 132. That Power is only from God*. These may be allowed him; or let pass without altercation, so that Men use them according to their natural tendency, for the Support of Righteousness, Justice, and Goodness. But if these be used to dazzle and amuse People, that others may have advantage to Rob and Spoil them: If by vertue of these a passage is made to let in upon a Nation, a lawless Power, Wrong, Injury, and Tyranny: If Law, Religion, com-  
mon



mon Sense, must all be laid aside, and one of the best framed Politicks in the World must be subverted by ill consequences, and forced Pleas deduced from these Doctrines, we may certainly have Liberty to examin both the Principle and the Deductions; we may consider what the one will bear, and how the other is laid upon it. If we must be Slaves, it is all one to us, whether we be made such in the way of *Hobbs*, or of this Historian; it is all one, whether a King has his Power from God, or from the People; if he must be absolutely absolute, and be obeyed without reserve, without consideration of Law and Right. And if a King must be a Monster, altogether Arbitrary, meer Will acting at pleasure, without bounds or limits, he may as well be made such by the People, as by God; and of the two, the People are the more likely to make the Monster; because God is always Wise and Good, and all his Actions are Just, and Right; and therefore as there is more of God in Power, there should be more of Goodness and Righteousness in the Exercise of it.

It seems therefore a Design ill laid, to challenge for Princes, an infinite Power of doing what they will, without Check or Controul from National Constitutions, because their Powers come from God; or to be zealous to fetch all the Powers of Princes from God, for this purpose, that they may do evil things securely, that they may do what they please, right or wrong, without danger or hazard, without stop or lett.

If we believe the Apostle, *Rom. 13.* The Powers that come from God, and are ordained of God, are *not*, they cannot be a *Terror to good Works*: but according to this way of discoursing, they are as terrible to the good, as to the bad; and that for this Reason, because they come from God. Had Princes that singular

lar Excellency of Nature, which God has, that they neither would nor could do evil, they might then be allowed to act, as he does, according to the good pleasure of their Wills, without Controul. But if we assert that they may do evil, they may oppress, rob, spoil, kill, murder, and do all the base things which any other man can do, for which they have no License or Power from God; why may they not then have some stops from human Constitutions, to lett and hinder them from doing those things, which God never gave them power to do, and to keep them in those Methods of acting, which God himself prescribed, when he gave them power of ruling and governing.

If we say that the necessity of human Affairs does require that Princes should be unaccountable in this World, it may be allowed so far as that necessity appears; but then their Exemption from Check or Controul, does not derive from the Source and Origine of their power, that is from God; but from another Cause, which must be fairly made out, upon the Compare of Benefits or Mischiefs, that happen from the one supposition or the other.

But when men say, that because Kings receive their Power from God, they must have no lets from human Constitutions of doing what they will, good or bad; and then distinguish, that though they are uncontrollable, unaccountable in this World, yet they are accountable to God, and must give a strict Account to him, and that for the same Reason, because they receive their Power from God: I should think that such men are unkind to Kings, and treat 'em with the most uncouth Courtship in the World: For they do, in effect, tell them this; You are great and powerful, you may do what you please, you have none to fear but God, nothing to be afraid of but Hell and  
 Damnation:

Damnation: Others are awed by human Laws, they are kept in, and restrained from doing the Evils they might do, they are made better than they would be, and so put into a way of Salvation; but you Great Princes, you are entirely free, you may do as you will, as you have none above you, so you have none to awe you, none to give stop to you in all the eruptions of nature or humour, but only God and his last dreadful Judgments.

I should think a Christian Prince should give a Courtier but little thanks for such a Speech as this; as he has a Soul to be saved, he must rejoyce in God's preventing Grace, and give thanks when ever it pleases God to keep him from doing evil, and he may likewise be glad, if by Laws, and human Constitutions, his ways were so bounded and fenced in, that it might be impossible for him to deviate from Righteousness and Justice, so he would be in the ready way of being Happy here, and Glorious hereafter.

As to the Interests of a King of *England*, it is but vain to search into the Source and Origine of his Power; how it may be said to be from God, or how from the People; seeing he has that singular happiness, that if he will Act truly his part according to the National Constitution, he must appear in the Exercise of his Power, altogether Divine like God Himself: He is Great and Powerful, his Person is Sacred, his Actions unquestionable: He does good, and nothing but good; inasmuch, as the Powers of Dispensing of Favours and Benefits, the Power of Rewarding, Advancing, Preferring, of giving Riches, and Honours, to the Industrious and Well-deserving; the Power of Protecting, Defending, Relieving, Pardoning the poor or miserable, are intirely left to Him: But then the Power or Impotency of doing Wrong, Injury, or Evil to others, is absolutely taken from Him.



A King of *England*, as such, can do no wrong; if he does it, he stretches beyond himself, and the Man is too hard for the King; because, according to this National Constitution, all those Acts wherein wrong can be done, are to be done not by himself, but by proper Ministers and Officers, who are accountable for the actions which they do, or may have done. Thus the Kings Person is Sacred, and his Actions unquestionable; and they that do wrong, are answerable to the Law, and may suffer according to their demerits.

This certainly was a happy Contrivance of Wisdom in our Fore-Fathers, to secure the Veneration that is due to Princes, and withal, to provide, that goodness and Righteousness may flourish in their Kingdoms. The Subject, every one of them either by himself, or his representative, agrees that he will be hanged or Gibbeted, submit to the halter or the axe, if ever he be mutinous or rebellious against the King: His King he will Love and Honour, Serve and Obey, Fight and be willing to Dye for Him: He shall be Great and Powerful, Dreadful to Enemies abroad, and Dreadful to Enemies at home; and have all the Assistances of Men and Moneys, to enable him to do all the good his heart can wish for, if he will but ask it; and that His Majesty may yet be more Bright and Illustrious, He in his particular, in all his Actions, shall be unquestionable, unaccountable. On the other hand, the King agrees that he will Protect and Defend his Subjects, Support them in all their Rights, he will use their Assistances to beat down, and subdue all their Enemies, and take Care that they may Live in Peace and Prosperity. He will not oppress, or trample upon any, whether great or little: Nay, He will not leave it in his own Power to be able to do wrong or injury to them: And therefore, He will make Laws by his People's Consent in Parlia-

Parliaments; He will Conduct the Interest of the Nation by Advice of his Subjects in Council; He will Rule by Officers, and Judge by Ministers, chosen out from amongst themselves, and that in all Causes both between themselves and between himself, and them; who shall pronounce and determine about right, and wrong; and who is guilty, and who is not; without the least appeal to him: And then, lest those Judges, as Men, should warp aside, and think that they may be able by their goodly appearances to bear down right, and set up wrong, they themselves shall not be empowered to pronounce a Judgment in any Cause, but as a Jury of Neighbours, Twelve Men chosen out of the Voicenage, shall first find it to be. After all this, The King agrees, that Ministers of State, Privy Councillors, Military Officers, Judges in Courts, and each particular Jury-man shall be questionable, and accountable, punishable for any corruption, oppression, wrong, or injury, that by Law he shall be found guilty of; and that as much, as rebels are, which too has actually been done in several Reigns.

How Venerable and Divine is this whole Disposition and Order of Affairs? What appearance is there of Wisdom and Goodness, that is of God, in it? If a Prince would be Great, he must be Good; and if he keep to these Methods, he must be both. And if a People would have happiness in this World, they must either find it in such a Constitution, as this, or seek it in *Utopia*. Why then do Men trouble themselves to seek for the Source and Origine of Power, and think they do much in shewing that it comes from God, and God only? Whereas we have here before us Power running down from the Fountain-head a long way, and in all its course like it self, the same it was, pure and clean, and in all its appearances Divine and

God-like; it acts just as God would have it, and tends to all those glorious Ends, for which God gave it, and to which God requires and directs the Use of it. It exerts it self to those Purposes, for which St. Paul tells us, 1 *Tim.* 1. 9. That the Law of God was made, not for the Righteous, to oppress them, but for the Lawless and Disobedient, to beat them down; to shame, as well as punish them. In these Methods a King may be strong and mighty, able to throw down, and cast down strong Holds and Imaginations, and all that exalteth it self against God, and Goodness, and Himself too.

If then men will have us to say, that Power comes from God, and only from God, we may well allow it; because we know that Nature, and an inclination to sociable living, and Order come from God, and only from him; all these are good, and God is the Giver of all good things; and besides, we find so much of goodness both for King and People in this National Constitution, that we may well think that God himself, by his Providence, did influence our Fore-Fathers to agree, and fix upon it. But now if men, from this Speculative Notion of Power, descending down from God, will draw and force out Consequences, and by vertue of them, will set up, and pull down at pleasure, make new Frames of Government, and Schemes of Policy: If they will say that this excellent Disposition of Affairs must be thrown down, and the English Law be laid aside, and right and wrong become mutable at pleasure; if they will say that Kings of *England* must be absolute, and obeyed without Reserve; and all this, only for this Reason, because their Power comes from God, I hope that they will expect that we should beg their Pardons; they may think that we judge their Logick deceives them, and that they left their *Aristotle* too soon. A Philosopher once undertook



to demonstrate that it was impossible there should be any such thing as Motion, and he talk'd prettily upon the Subject; but all the while he talk'd, men of plain sense, laught at him for his vain design; yet, however, he went on demonstrating, and they laughing.

So it is, Men, engaged in a bold Adventure, will go on, whether they have, or have not hope of Success.

If Men would but consider fairly, they must see, that there is a vast distance between their Principle, and their Consequence; it does not follow, that because God gives Power, therefore Kings must be free to do what they please, or that they cannot be restrained by National Constitutions, to exert their power in particular ways and methods. For who knows, but the Limitations and Restrictions of power, may come from God too; for there are no more miraculous Attestations to the Divine Origine, and descent of the one, than there is of the other. And it would be agreeable to God's goodness to do it; because Power is in it self a very flexible thing, that may be bent and bowed this way, or the quite contrary; it is like unto Nature, which as it came from God was very good; but as the man, who had that Nature, and was therewith made upright, sought out many Inventions: So the King, who has from God the power, may do the same. The man thought many of his own Inventions to be his Nature, and to come from God; and a King may think many of his to be his power, and to come from God. Therefore as God gave new Laws to limit and bind in the man, and his Nature; so he may, and it were agreeable enough to his Goodness, if he should, in the Course of his Providence, direct and order Affairs so, that there might be Limitations and Restrictions given to the King and his Power.

But besides, according to the usual Course of things,  
God.

God generally gives Bounds to Power, according to which it shall, or shall not operate, and therefore as he makes one Power, so he makes another answerable to it; as he makes the Agent, so he makes the Patient; as he makes Fire, so he makes combustible Matter to receive it, and to feed it, or else the Fire will soon go out. God gives to men Power over the Beasts of the field, but if a man will command any one of them, he must treat 'em in ways agreeable to their Natures, and make them to find that it is good to be commanded: He that comes on the blind, or the sore side of his Horse, may have a kick, and he that will vex and fret his Dog, may have a Bite, and none, in such a Case, will blame either the Horse, or the Dog, but the indiscreet Master. God gives to Kings, Power over men, their Subjects; but if a King will treat his Subjects, just as the indiscreet Master does his Horse or his Dog, he can hope for no better Returns, than what the other finds. Men and Beasts, by the Frame of their Natures, are in this much alike; you have them, you loose them; they come to you, or run from you, just as you treat them; give them kind Usage, and fair Treatment, they both will follow, and serve, and endeavour to please; but if they find that they must be abused, kick'd, and starved; if they find nothing but the Effects of Wrath or Contempt, that they must be trampled upon, each of them will get off, and shift for it self, and seek a more easie and comfortable State of Being.

Now this Temper, whether in subject Man, or subject Beast, coming from God; as well as Power in governing King, or governing Man, the one of these must be suited and accommodated to the other, and must proceed in all Actions upon the supposition of it; and as it is the Mans part to find out the proper Ways to gain

gain upon the Beast, to win him, and make him his own, fit for his Service ; so it is the King's part to find out, and to use a due and proper Managery for his People, by which he may bring them in to himself, and beget in them Trusts and Confidences towards him. God makes a Power in one to lay on, and in another to bear ; but he that lays on, must consider what the other can bear, or else, house, and all manner of impositions will come to the Ground, and, possibly, overthrow, and ruine him in the Downfall.

Every Power has some Bounds, and natural proper ways of exerting it self, whereby it becomes effectual, and of use. He that would have Food from Cows, or Cloathing from Sheep, or Service from Horses, or Dogs, he must provide for them, that first they may do well for themselves, before they can do well for him ; he must therefore feed them and defend them from Fears and Affrightments, such as usually hinder them from attending to their own Necessities, and Interests. But he that will not give 'em, whereon to feed, or if he does, puts Wolves and Lyons amongst them, to scare and terrifie them, must never expect good or benefit from them.

Thus it was, and ever will be, what way soever the Man came to have Power over them, right Titles to them, whether that was from God or man, by Donation or Emption, by Descent or Conquest : And as it is betwixt the Man, and his Beast, so at least, it must be allowed to be betwixt a King and his People : If a King will treat them frowardly, make no due Provisions for their Good, but will treat them arbitrarily, just as he will, and that because he wills it according to humour, he must not expect what he wishes from them, how or in what manner soever he receives his Power over them.

Thus



Thus let Power be owned to come from God, let it be confessed that He is the Source and Original of it; yet I think no Man can fetch from thence any Ground for the assertion of either Destructive or of Arbitrary Proceedings in Government; a King may however, have bounds and limits, ways and methods fixed to him, wherein he may, or may not, profitably and effectually exert the Operations of it; and the consequences of his own Actions, whether they be good or bad, commendable or blame-worthy, will be imputable chiefly and primarily to himself.

But after all this, What if Power may in some Sense be said to depend upon the People; tho' it comes originally from God, yet it may come immediately to one certain Person by the people; and as God is said to make Kings, so the people may be said to make them too: I know that this Language is thrown off with scorn and contempt, and represented in several Prints as most odious. How this comes to pass, I can't tell, for it must be owned, that in the Old Testament, amongst God's own people, this way of speaking was very current and familiar, in all the Revolutions of State, the people are said to make their King.

Thus it was in the Case of *Saul*, 1 Sam. 11. 15. He was indeed Anointed by *Samuel*, but that Action was done in secret, his own Servant was not permitted to see it, 1 Sam. 9. 27, and 1 Sam. 10. 1, 2. The Instruction that he then had, was, not to challenge the Kingdom by Vertue of God's Gift, *but to do as occasion served*, 1 Sam. 10. 7. and tho' he be said to be *chosen of the Lord*, 1 Sam. 10. 24. yet he was said to be made King by the people, 1 Sam. 11. 15. *And all the People went to Gilgal, and there they made Saul King before the Lord.*

Thus

Thus too, *David* was made King by the Men of *Judah*, over the House of *Judah*, 2 Sam. 2. 4. and *David* himself owns, that the Men of *Judah* Anointed him, 2 Sam. 2. 7. and *Ishbosheth* at the same time was made King over all the rest of *Israel* by *Abner*, 2 Sam. 2. 9.

After the Death of *Ishbosheth*, *David* was again Anointed by the people, 1 Chron. 11. 3. and made King by the people, 1 Chron. 12. 38.

So was *Solomon*, 1 Chron. 29. 22. and *Rehoboam*, 2 Chron. 10. 1. and *Jeroboam*, 1 King. 12. 20. They called him to the Congregation, and made him King over all *Israel*. Thus it was with *Omri*, 1 King. 16. 16. and with *Joash*, 2 Chron. 23. 11. and *Uzziah*, 2 Chron. 26. 1. This is the plain way of speaking in our Translation, and so it is in the vulgar *Latin*, and in the *Hebrew* Text, and that these were not empty Words, but that real effects for the producing of Power, did depend upon this Action of the People; we must needs think, because we see in two instances, that at the same time they made their King, they made Provisions for the Restraining and Limiting of his Actions; for, that I guess, must be the sense of that League, or Covenant, or Contract, which then he made with them, and they with him. This we find was done between King *David*, and the people; and King *Joash*, and the people: This we find was done by King *David*, 2 Sam. 3. 21. and 2 Sam. 5. 3. and 1 Chron. 11. 3. and by King *Joash*, 1 King. 11. 17. and likely enough by *Solomon*, when he was made King the second time, 1 Chron. 29. 21. and possibly enough, this was done at the Inauguration of each of their Kings.

But whether this be so, or no, it is not so material as to ingage us, or others in Dispute and Controversy. That we are now to promote and seek for, is

Peace and Unity, that Brotherly Love, and Christian Charity may abound amongst us; we must do what we can, to advance the good of our Countrey, People, and Nation; to secure our Religion, that we may continue to serve God in simplicity and sincerity; as for Nicety and Notion, men may think, and if they will, speak either this way, or the quite contrary. If Passion and Animosity, Heat and Anger, be laid aside, we may allow men to say, *That Power is only from God; That Resistance is a dangerous thing, and in most Cases very ill; That Passive Obedience (well explained) is a Duty.* And they, on the other hand, may be content not to urge and discourse these Doctrines in such a way, as must give us to fear and suspect, that trick and design are carrying on; that we are to be amused first, and then fooled, and cheated.

And why may it not be presumed? That henceforth no man will dare to move the People of this Land, Lords, and Commons to submit their Birth-rights; all the Interest they have in Life and Fortune to Arbitrary Disposals; from none of those wheedling *Topicks*, neither from the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, nor that of *Non-Resistance*, nor yet, that of the *Origin of Power*.

For seeing the Reverend Clergy now Assembled in *Convocation*, stand up so resolutely to keep and maintain all the particularities of their Rule, that they will not part with the least Title of their Establishment; though desired by the King, and perhaps too, by the greatest part of the Nation: It is very likely that the Example may be taking, and a Parliament, or the Body of the People may be as zealous to hold their own; as others are, to hold theirs; and it is very possible that there should be every jot as great Reason for it.



For certainly it may be thought, that the principal, and essential parts of this National Constitution, may be of more Value than the Disposition of things indifferent in Ecclesiastical Affairs. I should think it somewhat worse, to be hanged, right or wrong; than right or wrong to lose the satisfaction of wearing a Surplice. And another man may be more willing to permit his Child to be Baptized without the Sign of the Cross, than to consent that he will be dragoon'd, whenever his King pleases, only for this Reason, Because he does not change his Religion, and become Papist, Mahometan, or what you will.

Here I must stop, not daring to proceed, nor yet daring to exhort my Betters; but yet I must say, that it were to be wish't, that every one, of greater or lesser degree, would cast a few serious Thoughts upon those Words of our Saviour, *Luke, 19. 42, 43, 44.*

*Saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes.*

*For the dayes shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side.*

*And shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee: and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.*

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FINIS.